
DIVERSITY

Future project or current challenge?

Construction of the term diversity within citizenship education in Europe

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*Citizenship education and education for diversity are strongly interconnected in Europe. Given the twofold political task of citizenship education in contemporary Europe – creating citizen commitment to Europe and providing European citizens with diversity management skills –, diversity education becomes inseparable from citizenship education (CE). This article** explores the new conceptualization of diversity within the European education area. The policy analysis of the European Union (EU) and Council of Europe's (COE) work in the area of citizenship education and education for diversity is complemented by sequential analysis of EU and COE programmes, policy documents and teaching materials in order to show the interconnection of education for diversity and citizenship education. The findings on the European level are applied to the example of German teaching practices. The German example demonstrates the scope of customization of the diversity conception between compliance with the European idea of grounding European identity in celebrating diversity, and dealing with diversity based inequalities.*

Keywords: schools, education, curriculum, knowledge

Introduction: framing the topic

Diversity is a frequently used term within the area of citizen and civic education in Europe. The imprecise conceptualisation of this term mirrors the current European societal challenges

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** This article is based on the presentation during the XIV World Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES): *Bordering, Re-Bordering and New Possibilities in Education and Society*, Bogazici University, Istanbul, June 14th-18th, 2010.

through its diffuseness. Reconstruction of implicit meanings of diversity conception within educational policies and practices can highlight the political rationality behind the educational conceptions and thus provide new perspectives for scholars and practitioners.

This article concentrates on the role of diversity as one of the central terms within citizenship education in Europe and detects the twofold understanding of diversity as a future project *versus* a current challenge and source of inequalities. This division influences the policies and practices of diversity education, visible from the European to the national and local level. Due to the political programme of building European identity upon diversity, all agencies of the education system have the laborious task of combining celebration of diversity with discussions on diversity-based inequalities.

First of all, citizenship education must be positioned within diversity education.

Migration and Europeanization processes challenge Europe as a political, geographic or cultural setting; they are visible not only at the levels of the European economy and welfare state, but also within the differentiation of citizenship rights and statuses (Kivisto & Faist, 2007; Wiener, 1998; Meehan, 1993; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni & Passy, 2005; etc.). Some operationalisations of these challenges are possible within the framework of political, economic and law activities and regulations. However, there is another dimension of challenges, which is less definable but not less relevant.

I'm referring the challenges of European identity formation, which are on the political agenda¹. The central issue in this context may be formulated as «what makes up Europe?». European history is shaped by wars and conflicts; possible definitions of common culture are rather non-existent; the formulation of common values is a long negotiation process (Kearney, 2007; Smith, 1992). As repeatedly underlined in sociological research (Delanty, 2002; Lehning, 2001; Habermas & Derrida, 2005), Europe is a very specific project, as it is historically indistinctly bound, extremely dependent in its development of European citizen commitment, whatever that may be, and whatever basis it may have.

Citizenship identity is essential for citizens' commitment, and this commitment is, in turn, essential for democracy to function (Barber, 1984); given the Union of the States, such commitment becomes even more prominent (Wiener, 1998). Starting with the People's Europe Commission Report in 1985 (Commission of European Communities, 1985: 8) and further on, commitment of European citizens to Europe is in the political agenda (European Parliament & Council of the European Union, 2004: 6). Prominent examples like the failure of the EU-constitution referenda in France and The Netherlands in 2005, and the sinking quota of voting for European Parliament (e.g.,

¹ Also beyond the EU, in the context of the COE, self-definition and continuity of the supra national setting seem to depend strongly on the identity of its citizens and residents.

in Germany between 1994 and 2004 from 60% to 43%, in France from 52% to 42%, Finland from 57% to 39%; see International IDEA, n.d.), etc., demonstrate possible consequences of the fading commitment. Political agencies are aware of these consequences, as one can detect from an increase of multi-levelled support for citizenship education (CE) programmes and research in the world in the last decades (Splitter, 2010; Hedtke, Zimenkova & Hippe, 2008).

As a political unit, the European Union (EU) perceives the necessity of creating European commitment to Europe. Furthermore, specifics of the highly diversified multicultural democratic society call for preparing citizens to act against religious and cultural intolerance. Citizens' actions against intolerance and citizen cooperation in building European co-existence are required; commitment to Europe, to a common European identity, is a prerequisite of such acting.

The EU and the Council of Europe (COE) strongly cooperate within the area of citizenship education. In this article I analyse which instruments EU and COE create for identity construction on the level of educational policies and practices, and what happens to the prominent idea of diversity within the framework of European identity construction through education.

Certainly, the term «diversity», as I use it here, is not based on sociological theorising. Rather, this article tries to reconstruct the genuine meaning of the core element of European identity, as addressed in European educational policies and practices (Commission of the European Communities, 2004), both on the level of EU and COE² – of the term «diversity», in order to demonstrate the dependency of *diversity construction* on political agenda.

Both EU and COE implicitly orient themselves, while addressing diversity, towards migration-based diversity (socio-economic, ethnic, cultural, religious, etc.); this kind of diversity in its current magnitude is positioned within European educational policies and practices as a new phenomenon for European societies. Dealing with this diversity thus appears to be fundamental for the political and socio-economic stability of Europe. Therefore, in my analysis of citizenship and diversity education in Europe, I concentrate on diversity, understood first of all as cultural diversity, and implicitly connected to migration processes.

Bringing together European citizenship education and education for diversity

Referring to citizenship education I address educational conceptions designed to increase awareness, provide information and strengthen the motivation of citizens' participation in society, which has an increase of multi-levelled support in Europe (both by the EU and COE; COE,

² Declaration by the European Ministers of Education on intercultural education in the new European context (COE, 2003) emphasises throughout the necessity of intercultural education and managing diversity as a central issue of education within Europe, acknowledging the «new situation» in Europe, very much connected to migration.

2008b). E.g., the Parliamentary Assembly (COE) in its debate on 3rd October 2008 states that education for democracy should be an overall aim of school curricula and teachers' education.

European citizenship praxis (as conceptualized by Wiener, 1998) started with the provision of economic rights, continued with the provision of political rights, anchored in the provision of duties, and nearly collapsed due to the absence of commitment. My analysis (Zimenkova, 2011) shows that the provision of European citizenship identity through education, visible, e.g., through the ultimate growth of attention to the question of European identity and citizenship in the area of Lifelong Learning (a single umbrella for all educational and training programmes of the EU), is a step within the development of European citizenship praxis.

Citizenship education, differently named and articulated, is compulsory within all European countries; furthermore, all countries belonging to COE commit themselves to the education for democracy (COE, 2010). Both EU and COE perceive the commitment of citizens to democratic citizenship and Europe as essential for the continuity of the European institutions and as something to be learned. Consequently, CE becomes one of the central policy and praxis instruments for the development of European citizenship identity. Analysis of educational policies and practices shows that dealing with diversity becomes a core task and competency of European citizens³. The interconnection of European citizenship identity and dealing with diversity emerges due to the following factors:

a) *The EU's and COE's interest in political stability and citizen support*

On the level of European citizenship policy, migration and the immigrants' integration are highly relevant with regard to the functioning of European democracy and European economic integration. As an instrument for the improvement of European stability and development through citizens' commitment, CE must consider diversity as a core task and competency of European citizens and residents, supporting the main element of citizens' identity. The functioning of European citizenship identity and of Europe as a project seems to depend on multicultural skills; at least educational policies on the level of the EU bring European citizenship identity and multicultural skills together. An umbrella programme for all educational matters in the EU, Lifelong Learning, integrates both, promotion of European citizenship identity and management of diversity. European citizenship within educational programmes of the EU and COE is, to a certain extent, detached from the citizenship office and becoming a matter of commitment to Europe, its history and multiculturalism.

Taken the European policies of CE, competences related to diversity are addressed as essential, both a) for the emergence of European identity, and b) for dealing with societal challenges of

³ Bringing together citizenship and diversity is not a new idea though; it has rather existed since the ancient thought (Saxonhouse, 1992).

everyday life. It is essential here to separate between these two points. Dealing with diversity and learning towards diversity appears within a *tension field* of diversity as a future project of identity *versus* diversity as a challenge. And here the praxis of CE is questioned, as to whether diversity management can serve as a basis for identity building.

b) *School as agency: interest in diversity education*

School systems in many European countries are strongly challenged by migration processes (Commission of the European Communities, 2008). In many cases, school is the first agency, communicating to immigrants in the country and dependent in its performance on cooperation with migrant families, integration and successful diversity management (Zoletto, 2007; Ribolzi, 2007). One may assume that, for the functioning of the school systems, diversity management might be more essential than the emergence of European citizenship identity.

The following chapter gives a summary of the analysis of EU and COE educational policies and practices, supporting my assumption of the interconnection between education for diversity and citizenship education in order to show the essentiality of this interconnection and its consequences. The political functionality of diversity conceptualisation can thus be underlined.

Education for diversity as part of European citizenship education: educational policies and practices on the European level

Sequential analysis (Oevermann, 1993; Oevermann, Allert, Konau & Krambeck, 1979; Wernet, 2000) of the European level policy documents and teaching programmes and materials supports the previously elaborated explanation of an interconnection between citizenship and diversity education. For example, the COE's White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, *Living Together as Equals in Dignity* (COE, 2008a), shows the focus on intercultural education within the European framework, and brings together competences for life within a democratic society, respect for human rights and managing diversity. Comparable interconnections exist throughout the EU documents as well. The Commission communication *Making Citizenship Work* (Commission of the European Communities, 2004) brings together European citizenship commitment, diversity and intercultural understanding. In its description of youth policies, the EU refers to the new condition of Europe, i.e., that it is largely borderless (see European Commission, 2010). The Youth in Action Programme (see European Commission, 2009), which comprises of EU Youth Actions for 2007-2013, brings together active citizenship, solidarity, cultural diversity and tolerance.

However, albeit CE and diversity education are strongly interrelated, cultural diversity in EU programmes is implicitly applied first to the *European citizens' mobility*, and not to the migration processes from *non-EU countries*. Furthermore, problems and challenges of migration (no matter

where they are from) are referred to under the topic of equal opportunities/inequalities. Intercultural awareness and dialogue primarily belong to the topic of borderless Europe; Migration within EU member states is withdrawn thematically from the topic of migration, which is more or less reserved for the immigrants from non-EU countries and shifted into the inequality issues.

This division between «diversity» as *identity basis* within a new borderless Europe *versus* migration-based *inequalities* appears to be very significant for the conceptualisation of diversity and diversity education in the context of European citizenship identity building.

This division is visible not only in the attribution of «positive» and «problematic» aspects of diversity to different topics within educational policies and practices in Europe. Furthermore, there is a certain division of tasks between EU and COE that corresponds to this division. Both organisations cooperate strongly in the area of citizenship – Human Rights – and intercultural education. The aspect of intercultural education, including strong challenges of – first of all addressed as non-EU – migration, is to a certain extent outsourced to the COE. COE and EU both bring together intercultural education, social inclusion and citizenship in their educational policies; however, there are important differences within their perspectives.

The EU, providing formal political citizenship to its members, focuses strongly on European citizenship identity building, and thus on celebrating diversity, which is chosen as one of the core elements of European citizenship identity. However, challenges and problems of a diversified society are to be addressed in civic education as well; this can be delegated to the COE educational work. The COE does not provide formal political citizenship status, and due to this fact, COE is less dependent on addressing diversity as matter of celebration only, and seem to be freer in addressing challenging and problematic aspects of cultural diversity and integration (Council of Europe, 2009). However, a rather implicit division of tasks⁴ in diversity education between COE and EU occurs. Moreover, this kind of division also has some influence on the crystallisation of two types of migration, as addressed in educational contexts: the one, connected to cultural diversity and celebration, and the other, connected to problems of inequality.

Hence, diversity, as meaningful concept within the educational area, is becoming strongly focussed due to the current political tasks and challenges. Thus, part of its possible meanings are ceased, although the terminology stays the same.

Sequential analysis of different programmes within the area of diversity education provided by the COE permits the creation of the priorities' list for citizenship – Human Rights – and intercultural education as promoted by COE, and thus to reconstruct the meaning of diversity within the COE educational conceptions. In the process of analysis, the materials were analysed by means of

⁴ Division of tasks and topics, as well as comprehensiveness of cooperation between COE and EU in their education policies and practices could not be done within the framework of this article. Elsewhere I provide some insights into this matter (Zimenkova, 2011).

sequential procedure (sequential analysis; Oevermann, 1993; Oevermann *et al.*, 1979; Wernet, 2000). During this procedure, which is close to the methods of objective hermeneutics, texts (written materials, protocols of the interviews, etc.) are analysed with preliminary exclusion of the context knowledge. The text is analysed sequentially, starting with the opening sequence and reconstructing the latent meanings of the text, thus non-influenced by the pre-given (political or educational in our case) intentions for the creation of the text. For a detailed description of the method see Wernet (2000), and for the example of the analysis see Zimenkova (2008). The utilized materials originate from The European Wergeland Centre in Oslo (see The European Wergeland Centre, n.d.), COE division on CE and Human Rights Education (HRE) (see COE, n.d.) and teachers' manuals of the COE (Gollob & Krapf, 2008, 2009):

- Citizenship and rights in Europe (knowledge and ability to defend the rights) are connected to the dignity of all human beings and thus HRE. Diversity and democracy, including democratic school governance, are strongly brought together under the aspect of rights;
- European and multi-faceted identities – belonging is addressed as an issue of multiple identities. Citizenship conception seeks to develop a new approach, integrating local, national, European and global dimensions, addressing «nestedness» (cf. Kivisto & Faist, 2007: 122 ff.) of citizens in their political, legal, cultural and socio-economic aspects. Diversity is referred to as a «future vision», as if it were a *single operationalised conception*;
- In the context of historical education and remembrance, COE seeks to develop a specific view on European history⁵, using conflict history as a basis for peaceful co-existence.

Although the educational programmes developed by COE emerge within a strong cooperation with EU, there are still some specific issues, considering the EU legal base concerning EU citizenship and EU neighbourhood policy, which are left to the educational programmes within the EU only:

- Mobility projects are supposed to strengthen belonging to the EU and multiculturalism⁶;
- Citizenship education has active participation in EU institutions and in communities as a central goal;
- Specific issues of integration especially focus on the within-EU minorities (e.g., integration of Roma children).

Thus, the analysis supports the preliminary assumption that the EU and COE divide educational tasks related to a) the within-EU migration processes, connected to the idea of European

⁵ To quote the COE's Future Programme of Activities «our shared history provides a powerful basis on which to build a Europe without dividing lines» (Council of Europe, 2009: 8).

⁶ E.g., *Moving beyond Mobility Project* (2008), *Youth on Move Initiative* (2010), etc.

identity and celebration of diversity as its basis and b) migration from non-EU member states, which is more explicitly connected to the questions of integration, intercultural dialogue, inter-religion education, conceptions of otherness and inequality.

The COE provides a very vague conception of diversity, which is, similarly to the EU, constructed as the basis for European identity, implicitly referring to some consensus of diversity conceptualisation. Even in its report on *Policies and Practices for Teaching Sociocultural Diversity* (Arnesen *et al.*, 2008: 17) COE states not to seek any common definition. Diversity is considered a *positive goal* that should be reached – problems, connected to diversity, disappear from this conception (cf. *ibidem*: 85), to be found under the topic of inequality.

Both the COE and the EU address diversity as a basis for European identity. The question of how to ground identity on diversity is not articulated. Perhaps separating diversity from inequality is seen as the first necessary step. To consider multiculturalism and diversity as a basis for citizenship identity within a multicultural setting and to declare multifaceted identities as a sign of the time and natural condition of each citizen is an elegant solution for identity building. The de-construction of a single belonging seems to be the way for creating a European identity, a hard way for the educational system, and a long path of development. So, *concealing this deconstruction work to some extent through celebrating the result of this deconstruction* is also a rather elegant idea. But what about challenges for educational systems, brought about by migration, integration and inequalities, resulting from diversity?

The current concerns about the failures of the integration process, like those of Angela Merkel («Merkel Erklärt Multikulti», 2010) and David Cameron (Wintour, 2011; The Guardian, 2011), bring new dimensions into the political debates and media discourse in some European countries. However, I would not regard these perspectives as diminishing for the relevance of the diversity concept for European identity construction. The current debate on integration failures (in Germany and the UK), rather than stressing the challenges of migration, highlights – in the German case – the problems of social services and under skilled migrants and – in the UK case – religious extremism as possibly connected to the failed integration. However, these foci strengthen the division between «problematic sides» of migration and – still sacrosanct – positively connected notion of diversity as an identity base, which remains strictly separated from failed integration discourse. For the time being at least, the debates on failed integration do not interfere with the sphere of diversity education. In the case of the German debate, the term of multiculturalism stays «safe» from negative connotations. In the case of the UK, David Cameron does not doubt the idea and identity-building capacity of «true» multiculturalism, but highlights the possibility that multiculturalism processes took place that brought immigrants «to live separate lives, apart from each other and the mainstream» (as cited in Wintour, 2011, para. 11). Furthermore, he states that «We have failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong» (*ibidem*). The analysis of the implicit meanings of media and political debates on the topic of «integration failure» in

Germany and UK are not a task of this article. Without the intention to evaluate these developments one still can state that these debates do not deconstruct, but rather support, the value and wishful condition of multiculturalism and diversity as a societal identity base, although the idea of «wishful» integration might have quite different implicit meaning and implications.

The perceived necessity to interconnect diversity and citizenship education, emerging from an attempt to base European citizenship identity in diversity (celebration)⁷, significantly influences the *very conception of diversity* in European education, dividing it into scarcely interrelated aspects of diversity as a future vision and diversity as a source of inequalities.

However, on the level of the nation states, education for diversity may have very different paths of development, between cultivating diversity and finding some commonalities within diversity *versus* making attempts at cultural homogenisation and educating the representatives of the cultural majority for tolerance. In many other European post-Soviet states, undergoing processes of state independence reconstruction, CE is used for national identity building, which contradicts the idea of single-belonging deconstruction (cf. Radiukiewicz & Grabowska-Lusinska, 2008).

The same can be observed with history education, differentiating between accepting different histories as components of common European history *versus* trying to establish one untouchable conception of history.

The following chapter demonstrates the way in which different facets of diversity conception are dealt with in educational policies and practices of a national state, highly challenged by migration, diversity and inequalities. Compared to the rather hidden division in European policies and practices, nation state level analysis delivers explicit information about the fundamental division between celebrating diversity and diversity management.

Tracing the facets of diversity conception: the German example

Member states of EU and COE commit themselves to the educational policies and practices incorporated into the education towards active European citizenship, through participation in the educational policies and common projects of the EU and COE.

However, (school) education cannot solely be seen as working towards common European goals; many tensions and problems, occurring on the national level, are partly delegated to schools. The following chapter shows the development of education for diversity and European

⁷ I am not opening here another important discussion of multiculturalism as a conception in European education, differing between functionalist, performance and success oriented approach to education for multiculturalism, and capitalism-free approaches, which is however highly relevant while talking about European policies and practices of multiculturalism (Papastephanou, 2007).

citizenship on the level of educational praxis of a single migration state. The results of the analysis of the German case, presented in this chapter, can be generalized for the other countries as well (Janmaat & Piattoeva, 2007; Soysal & Wong, 2010; Zimenkova, 2011).

As one of the EU founder states, Germany is strongly committed to common EU policies; educational policies are not an exception. The German example unites dealing with challenges of state migration, commemoration work in German citizenship and historical education, and transformation processes after the re-unification of Germany – the latter cannot be addressed here.

Education in Germany is the responsibility of the Federal States. However, as show in sequential analysis of the «Europe», «Culture», «Migration and Integration» (a subdivision of the topic «Society») and «History» topics and programmes of Agencies for Political Education⁸ of different states and the corresponding fields of the German Federal Agency for Political Education (BPB; see BPB, n.d.a), there are some general lines of characteristic development in German education⁹.

Although analysis of textbooks shows comparable results, I will concentrate on the analysis of topics, teaching materials and manuals issued by German Agencies of Political Education, as these agents are the cutting edge between national policies and practices of CE. The Federal Agency for Civic Education (BPB), as well as Federal States agencies, is shaped to promote awareness of democracy and participation in politics. The broad range of educational activities provided by the BPB is designed to motivate people and enable them to critically examine political and social issues and play an active part in political life. Due to the history of totalitarian rule in Germany, educational policies and practices focus explicitly on anchoring democracy, pluralism and tolerance. Furthermore, being a migration state, Germany uses citizenship education (especially in schools) as an important instrument for immigrants' and the integration of immigrants (see *Demokratie Leben*, n.d.).

Putting the results of analysis into one summarized list, we can detect the following topics, relevant to CE and diversity education, as addressed by the Federal and Federal States Agencies for Political Education, and realize the essence of their genuine focus. These foci can be partly detected only within the in-depth linguistic analysis of teaching materials. The materials for the topics addressed by the Federal and Federal States Agencies for Political education were analysed by means of sequential procedure (sequential analysis; Oevermann, 1993; Oevermann *et al.*, 1979; Wernet, 2000). Even if they appear unsurprising and logical, the essential divisions, visible through the analysis, are generally concealed in the materials:

⁸ Agencies in Bavaria, Brandenburg, Baden-Württemberg and North-Rein Westphalia.

⁹ Due to the specific challenges, faced by different Federal States, the focus of these topics might however demonstrate slight focus' shifting, e.g., on integration due to bigger numbers of immigrants in some states, and focus on right-wing extremism prevention in the others.

- *Europe*

The topic of EU Enlargement, primarily including political and economic issues addressed explicitly in the relationship between EU and Turkey.

European identity is focussed on the «feeling of *wè*» (see Zandonella, 2007), not on integration and diversity. It demonstrates an attempt to speak about commonalities, while under-acting the differences. Skipping the integration issue in this context deserves to be especially mentioning, for it addresses the *wishful* condition of Europe as a *current state of the art*.

- *Culture*

Education for cultural diversity is put into the framework of a culturally diversified school, including both positive issues of multiculturalism and debates about aggression in schools, caused by the limited chances of the migrant children's positions (see BPB, n.d.b). However, these two facets of diversity, those with a positive and a negative connotation, are carefully separated from one another. Cultural and ethnical aspects of integration and disintegration are addressed: religion, culture and prejudices (referring to the media debates, like the German «guiding culture»; the head scarf debate).

- *Migration and Integration*¹⁰ – *with clear separation of two topics: celebration of diversity vs. diversity as a source of discrimination and inequality* (Gleibs, 2006; Hildebrand, 2003; Hug, 2001; Stratenschulte, 2008; Thurich, 2005; Zandonella, 2003a, 2003b).

Teaching materials on the topics of equality and inequality address hidden issues of societal structure and focus on acting against discrimination. Inequality and discrimination related to immigration is always considered with other forms of discrimination. Racial discrimination is generally addressed, not directly linked to migration-based discrimination. This brings racial discrimination of people with migration history¹¹ (in any generation) together with racial discrimination of those genuinely living in Germany groups, thus partly changing the context of the current discriminations and putting them into larger societal and historical processes that are to be overcome.

The expression of «collaged identities» is used as a description of German society; broad understanding of culture beyond ethnicity and religion is suggested, e.g., belonging to a certain music culture.

If we turn to the political aspects of this topic, we find input towards political problems and challenges of integration and disintegration, like asylum seekers in German society. When turning to the political aspects, the topic of migration and integration becomes very wide and inclusive. Teaching materials on this topic do not restrict themselves to the problems and challenges of

¹⁰ Teaching materials from BPB on migration.

¹¹ PC talk in Germany constrains using the word «migrants», speaking of «people with migration history» instead.

migration, but turn to the history of migration in Germany and worldwide, as well as German specifics about different immigrant groups. All of these different topics are being discussed under the generic term of migration and integration. Turning to the worldwide history of migration partly softens the specifics of a current migration society, and includes other international and global actors as part of the solution for these problems by integrating them into historical and/or worldwide context.

Furthermore, cultural and ethnical aspects of integration and disintegration take up an essential part within the topic of migration and integration. Here direct links to managing and living with multiculturalism can be found. Questions of identity are addressed as questions of belonging between country of arrival and home country. This topic is addressed as a positive feature of German multicultural society.

Right-wing extremism and xenophobia are explicitly addressed within the context of migration. However, the essential point is that rhetorically and topically, the overlapping between migration as a *source of multiculturalism*, which includes new positive characteristics of German society, as society of collaged identities, and between migration as *source of inequalities* and migrants as victims of xenophobia is avoided. Any forms of extremism and radicalism, right and left-wing, as well as religious (see Andi, n.d.; Bayern Gegen Rechtsextremismus, 2009) radicalism, are put together. Thus, the accentuation of xenophobia against immigrants is impeded.

- *Topic: History: Holocaust education as a central part of German democracy education*¹²

The history of World War II and the Holocaust, as well as post-war developments, if related to the topics of multiculturalism and migration (see Wetzel, 2008), develop a strong link to common and divided history in Europe, and remembrance as a challenge¹³.

Analysis shows that despite the commitment to European practices of the CE, diversity as a term is not frequently used in the German citizenship education context. It is substituted with two conceptions, dividing this term into positively connoted *multiculturalism*, and negatively connoted topics of diversity-based *inequality and discrimination*.

On the one hand, the (German) educational system is strongly challenged with understanding multiculturalism as a positive feature of European identity. On the other hand, it must deal with

¹² Commemoration work, designed for making repetition of Holocaust impossible became the main agenda of German education policies after 1968 (Adorno, 1981).

¹³ Here fruitful and very difficult work on common European history of WWII within German and French education policies and practices is to be mentioned. In 2003, Germany and France launched a project for the first common textbook on history between ancient times and 1945 (Defrance, Marcowitz & Pfeil, 2008a, 2008b). The political relevancy and difficulties of this project become obvious through the fact that it was monitored – and could only become possible at the highest political level (promoted by German-French Youth Parliament and supported by Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroeder, discussed at the Meeting of German Federal States and French Regions in 2003).

problems, emerging in an immigration society, in which broadly understood diversity becomes a reason for inequality and discrimination. Functionally speaking, Germany (and Europe) as a multicultural society needs positive affirmation of the idea of cultural diversity, both in everyday life and in school. Dealing with diversity, profiting from it and maintaining harmony are essential for the German society. At the same time, Germany is experiencing an upswing of right-wing extremism among youth, xenophobia and racist violence; young people witness inequalities and discrimination connected to diversity. The educational system is challenged with these phenomena: prevention education and education for civic courage becomes essential; inequalities cannot be neglected in the teaching process.

Is bringing these two facets of diversity together under the conception of diversity education too confusing for schoolchildren and, perhaps, the school system? The German solution seems to be, as claimed above, the following – diversity in society separated into two sub-issues:

- The term of «inequality» seems to substitute «multiculturalism and diversity», while speaking of challenges and problems connected to migration processes. Although explicitly addressing migration – and diversity-based inequalities –, teaching programmes and materials integrate these aspects into the broader range of inequality processes. This integration addresses migration-based inequality together with other forms of inequality and discrimination (gender, religious and age discrimination, discrimination according to sexual preferences and others); the same applies to racial discrimination. Therefore, the questions of migration-linked inequality are shifted from the topic of diversity to the topic of general societal structures and inequalities. The same is true for the topic of right-wing extremism and xenophobia – it is considered together with other forms of extremism (left-wing; religious).
- With the help of such shifting, the topic of diversity and multiculturalism is reserved for celebration and for building a basis for European (and German) identity. Diversity is then connected to topics about Europe – being European citizens, moving across Europe and co-designing Europe. Diversity is also strongly attached to the topic of culture – each person representing many cultures, not only ethnic, but musical, religious, political etc.; belonging to the European democratic culture is addressed as a common basis of identity. This understanding of diversity has much in common with European topics and European understanding of diversity, as shown above.

In German practices of CE, problems and challenges connected to diversity are in no way neglected; they are being worked on very actively – however, they are successfully detached from the idea of multiculturalism and celebrating diversity. Even if they are optically on the same page, the division is very clear; so questions like «Are we not called to celebrate something, which is the source of inequalities and discrimination for those, who are supposed to celebrate it?» do not emerge.

Educational praxis, projects and teaching materials address common European identity and positively connoted diversity not as a wishful condition, but as an existing state of the art. And this is possible only through outsourcing all problematic elements of diversity, matters of inequality and discrimination to the other topics, not concerning European identity.

In German education, both facets of diversity are connected to actions – the first one to active political participation and cultural celebration of diversity; the second one to civil courage and service learning. That which greatly differs between the European conceptions is that the problematic and challenging aspects of diversity, due to country specifics, are addressed strongly and explicitly, on the European level they are rather concealed, at least within EU educational practices.

Conclusions

European policies and practices of citizenship education try to concentrate on diversity as a basis for European identity that is to be celebrated. Diversity and multiculturalism are constructed no more as descriptive terms, but the best, and *mostly already met* condition of a society. European identity is constructed as common-history-multicultural European identity. Diversity is implied as a single, operationalised and understandable conception.

Diversity as an educational concept (in Europe) is being divided into the two facets of future project *versus* current challenge and source of inequalities; both of them are significant and have to be addressed through education in order to maintain the functioning of Europe as a unit and to force the commitment of European citizens to Europe. As essential as addressing both of the topics, there is also the *clear division between the two*; for only this division – on the level of policies, practices and curricula – affords establishing diversity as a core issue of European identity. And this division seems to be even more essential on the level of nation states, challenged in a specific way by diversity and migration.

One strategy is to be stressed here once more: celebration of diversity. Diversity is constructed as a future project, bringing about the future vision of harmonious, but not homogeneous, Europe of diverse citizens, committed to one unit. This over-stressing of diversity celebration does not solely draw attention away from diversity-based inequalities, but also conceals to a certain extent the *stressfulness of the single-belonging deconstruction* job to be fulfilled within the framework of CE.

Thus, we observe the strong interconnection of citizenship education and education for diversity in Europe and the multiple challenges experienced by agencies of education on all levels, while establishing diversity as a core element of European citizenship identity. Diversity as an educational topic becomes a political issue and a political task. Through establishing diversity as a future vision and core element of European citizenship, the EU and the COE ultimately influence diversity education.

The big question of tracing the «real» effectiveness of diversity education in creating a European identity would be a separate task for – preferably – deep qualitative analysis of educational practices, which could not be done within this policy analysis article, but rather it must be seen as a theoretical basis for further investigations. However, the question of the influence of the described construction of diversity idea on the development of European identity shall not be ignored in this context. On the one side, current political debates in Germany and the UK («Merkel Erklärt Multikulti», 2010; Wintour, 2011), articulating the «failures» of integration processes, show that issues of migration and integration are essential not only for European dimensions of identity building, but also for the questions of identities and societal cohesion at the level of European nation states. A brief glance at these political debates shows the difficulties of simultaneous articulation of the migration challenges and maintaining sustainability of multicultural societies through addressing diversity as a basis for national identity. The question of whether the European attempts to build identity upon diversity and to separate positive issues of diversity from challenges of migration societies within educational processes that are capable of producing a successful construction of European identity cannot be answered now. The described specifics of the diversity conception are a novelty for educational systems of the European countries; its outcomes might be seen within one decade or later. However, from the critical point of view, the concluding question should be asked: can a rather hypocritical vision of diversity bring wishful results, especially among those schoolchildren who experience or observe negative and challenging sides of migration and integration or witness discriminations in their everyday life? Or shall this rather «safe» way to articulate diversity finally fail as identity construction because it is too safe and too artificially detached from challenges and problems? Will it thus stay an artificial rhetorical construct for the young Europeans?

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